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## The Farmers Real Condition

The American farmer is a distinct and peculiar social factor. No other age has anything comparable to him. No other nation has his counterpart. His problems, his history and his future evolution present complications and relations unknown elsewhere. At the same time he is more closely united to great world questions than any previous race of tillers of the soil. He is part of the great social development of his age to a greater extent than the farmers of any other nation, past or present. For these reasons the voluminous literature on the "Agrarian Question" in European countries is of little value to the student of American agricultural problems, save in relation to the most general phases of the subject.

Any discussion of the subject in Europe must, to a large extent, be based upon the survivals and remnants of feudalism. The great estates had their origin in this social stage. Hundreds of details affecting the present relation of landlords to their tenants have their origin in the days of lord and serf. The manner of tilling the soil, the nature of ownership, even the order of the rotation of crops, are still more or less affected by traditions of the time when the land surrounding each village was either assigned by lot to the serfs of the lord or the manor, to be tilled by them according to customs handed down through many generations, or else was held as "commons" for the free use of all, subject to certain customary regulations. This system of feudalism was much the same in all European countries and hence constitutes a common base or starting point for all discussions of agriculture in those countries. The result is that whenever the word farmer is used a definite set of conditions con-

with any new ideas concerning his own industry.

The reverse of all this is true in America. The American farmer entered upon a virgin continent in more senses than one. It was as free from social and political forms as it was from industrial improvements. The settler built a society as he reared his log cabin. That society, as is always the case, was determined by his industrial development and his physical surroundings. The first of these was as diverse as human history, the latter as varied as terrestrial geography. He came from a multitude of differing nations through a period of four centuries. However similar might be the traditions of those countries as a whole, their customs and social institutions were never simultaneously identical. Each of them was in a different stage of social development, and the immigrant brought the customs of the stage prevailing at his departure. America fused these marvelously varied and diverse traditions and customs into an amalgam different from any or all of them and then cast them in a mold of such an intricate and unique pattern that even yet no one has been able to grasp its complete plan, to say nothing of comprehending all its details.

The conquest of the continent of America has been marked by a series of social waves and until recently it has been possible to find simultaneously all stages of society from the half-savage hunter and scout to the highest developed and most concentrated capitalism on earth. The continent on which this tremendously complex social problem is being worked out is as varied as the problem. It is characteristic of the city and especially of the city of capitalism, that it levels all before it.

farmer then it is necessary to know of whom we speak. Even with the greatest care and the widest knowledge it is almost impossible to avoid ascribing to the type what is characteristic only of a single section or class.

If we are to select any particular section as a type, which shall it be? Shall it be the New England Yankee wrestling from his stumpy and rocky soil a niggard subsistence and swapping his products with his neighbors? If so, when we seek him in his native states we shall find him displaced by French Canadians and Irish immigrants, and if we follow up his children we shall hardly recognize them in the tillers of the broad prairies of the west with a mind and hospitality as wide and as fertile as the teeming soil beneath their feet. Or is the American Farmer best typified by the early pioneer,—that strange combination of hunter, fisher, lumberman, farmer, trapper and scout, now well-nigh extinct, but to whom we owe Lincoln, the best and most typical American citizen? Or shall we find him in the south, amid the cotton, rice and sugar plantations? And if here, is he white or black—a member of ante-bellum aristocracy or "poor white trash"? If purity of American blood is to be the test, the latter will demand first consideration, for in few places is the foreign strain less present than among the moon-shining, feud-fighting mountaineers of Kentucky and the Carolinas. Or is the typical American farmer the resident of the great arid irrigated belt, a dependent upon a great water company, raising almost fabulous crops and receiving a beggarly return? Or is he the Slav, or Italian, or Dutch truck farmer of the city suburb, working beneath glass and aided by steam and electricity. Or shall we find him upon the dairy and stock farms of Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin? Or is he a fruit farmer, and if so is he in tropic or temperate climes? Is it all of these, or none, or part of each, or a composite picture of the whole that makes up the American Farmer?

It will be the object of the following study to seek in some degree to select from out these various elements the common factors and to analyze the fundamental facts and relations that determine the present condition and probable future evolution of the American Farmer.

As we shall have occasion to notice frequently in the course of our investigations almost every portion of America has passed with more or less rapidity and elaborateness of detail through all the stages of human history from savagery to the most complete development of modern social organization. New England being one of the oldest settled portions of the country and hence having been more nearly synchronous in its social evolution with Europe, exhibited these successive stages in much greater detail than the remainder of the country.

At the time of the earliest settlements in New England, European society was still at that stage marked by common ownership of village lands. But the economic conditions in New England were such as to develop a much earlier social stage and so we see a reproduction of the institutions corresponding to the conditions in Europe centuries before. This does not mean that the traditions of these old conditions were revived and the customs copied from the earlier days, or that they are traceable to inherited customs as some of the foremost historians of America would have us believe.

(1) Prof. Herbert B. Adams in "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," (John Hopkins University Studies, Vol. 1.) attempts to trace the evolution of New England town government from the time of Tacitus through German and English history to America. He shows that the New England villages resemble those described by Tacitus even in minute details. Speaking of Plymouth, he says, "There are fea-

tures of communal administration in the matter of landed property too peculiar and too closely resembling those elsewhere considered in the case of the historical village community, to permit of any other satisfactory explanation than that of inherited Saxon customs." Again on p. 78, "Wherever in this common Saxon land the student may care to institute researches into the beginning of civic life, there he will find if he digs deeply enough, the old Saxon principle of land community uniting men upon a common economic basis and around a common center."

It simply means that there in New England the same economic conditions arose that in the time of Tacitus caused the formation of the isolated communistic settlements designated as the Mark. The New England village, like that of the early Germans, was a little clearing in the midst of the forest. It was surrounded by hostile Indians with no strong central government to preserve order and protect the settlers from its savage neighbors. Fences were erected by common labor around the entire village, shutting it off from the rest of the world. "An independent owner who would not fence against the outward world, both giving and taking the protection of neighboring fields, must move out and must let a better communist approach to seek family inclosure." The land about the "meeting house," which was the center of all social life, as well as the geographical center of the village, was assigned to the different residents in such a way that those nearest the central point received the smallest share. The farming land around the village was divided into the commons and cultivable land. The former embraced the pasture and forest land and was sometimes assigned to individual owners and sometimes divided each season by lot for cultivation while the title was still vested in the community. Even where the land was nominally owned in severality it could not be sold, especially to non-residents, without the consent of the community. A common herder for the cattle and sheep and often a common sheep fold were provided by the village authorities.

### Sheep Shearers Union

For the benefit of the sheep shearers and others interested in this line of work, following will be found the "Scale of prices of the hand and sheep shearers Union No. 275 A. L. U., for the season of 1904.

#### MONTANA AND WYOMING

Minimum prices for the season of 1904 in the states of Montana and Wyoming shall be as follows:

Eight cents per head straight and board; or nine cents per head straight without board, for yearlings ewes and two-year-old wethers;

Nine cents per head straight and board; or ten cents per head straight without board, for wethers three years and older;

Bucks to be two strings for each; Shearers to pay nothing for tying wool;

Shearers at all times to have the privilege of boarding themselves;

Employers to have the privilege of furnishing machines and repairs; but where shearers furnish machines and repairs, all prices shall be 1/2 cent per head higher than given above.

#### IDAHO

Minimum prices for the season of 1904 in the state of Idaho shall be as follows:

Seven cents per head straight and board; or eight cents per head straight without board, for yearlings ewes and two-year-old wethers;

Eight cents per head straight and board; or nine cents per head straight without board, for wethers three years and older;

Provided that in

PUBLIC CORRALS

Minimum prices shall be seven

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## The Socialists Are For Peace

BY ERNEST UNTERMAN.

The enemies of Socialism claim that we Socialists appeal to the lowest passions of the mob, and set class against class. If this charge is made in good faith, it shows a superficial understanding of the Socialist philosophy. If it is made in bad faith, it is a calumny. In either case, an explanation is due to the people who are searching for truth.

The class struggle is not an invention of the Socialists. It is a fact which they discovered by a scientific analysis of human history. The class struggle was raging in human society thousands of years before the Socialists discovered its existence and pointed it out. So did the struggle for existence between organic and inorganic creation, and between the various divisions of the organic creation, rage for uncounted ages before Darwin formulated his definition of it. But the first enunciation of the class struggle in human language was no more a gospel of hatred than was the assertion of the struggle for existence by Darwin. It was simply the statement of a scientific fact in plain scientific terms.

The first Socialists who pointed out the existence of the class struggles did so only to show their historical function in the development of society, and to declare that their aim was the abolition of all class struggles. This alone should be sufficient proof to the unbiased mind that the Socialist philosophy is a scientific foundation for a new ethics, not a philosophy of hatred.

In 1847, Marx and Engels, who then called themselves communists in distinction from the Utopian Socialists of their time stated the following truths in the "Communist Manifesto":

"The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

"But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

"When in the course of development class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."

There is not a word of hatred taught in this statement, nor is there any sentence in the whole "Communist Manifesto" inciting to class hatred. A scientific criticism, be it couched in ever so sharp terms, has certainly nothing in common with a fanatical appeal to passion. Here

is a calm and well weighed statement of historical evolution through class antagonisms, and no amount of ingenuity can overthrow the testimony of history, since the introduction of private property, which substantiates this analysis.

It is true, the authors of the "Communist Manifesto" speak of a "revolution" and of "force." But in the first place, at the time when the "Communist Manifesto" was written, there was no prospect of solving this problem by peaceful means in any European country but England. In the second place, Marx has later shown in his "Capital" that the capitalist class, by revolutionizing industry through concentration of wealth and industries, through the expropriation of the small competitors and off the mass of the people, use more force and destroy more property and lives than will the revolution of the working class, which is merely the birth act of the new society.

The history of the Socialist activity in the parliaments of the various countries has amply shown that we are the only element in present society who really and truly want peace. And above all, we know and declare that in a country with the political liberties of the United States, education and peaceful conquest through the ballot must be the only means by which the class struggles shall be ended.

I wish I could say as much of capitalist class and their official spokesmen.

The Socialist conception of the class struggle is the ethical code of the working class. It teaches the working class to educate itself. It endeavors to subdue the evil passions which the economic conditions of capitalist society create, and to prevent the outburst of the untrained and untutored masses which capitalist production inevitably produces. Instead of sowing the seeds of a bloody revolution, we are straining every nerve to arouse the intelligence of the masses and to make reason the master of blind fury.

It is the capitalist class that incites to class hatred by the vulgar display of wealth in the face of the suffering multitude. It is the capitalist class that destroys the homes and families of the workers, and confiscates the property of the millions. It is the injunction, the riot bullet, the bull pen, the police club, and the militia laws that speak the language of hatred and passion.

No Socialist makes any single capitalist or their whole class responsible for their deeds. We recognize that the capitalist class cannot act otherwise, because their own self interest forces them to concentrate wealth, form trusts and use the political power for their own ends. But we also recognize that the logical counterpart of the trust is the trade union, an organization which educates the working class to class consciousness in their economic dealings with the capitalists. We also recognize that the economic force exerted by the capitalists inevitably begets economic force on the part of organized workingmen. Capitalist ethics is powerless to bridge this chasm, because it has no solution for his class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. But the class struggle is itself an ethical power. The very necessity to organize and to find a way out of the capitalist labyrinth by themselves acts as an education on the working class, and counteracts all attempts of the capitalist class to create belief in the harmony between capitalists and

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JAPANESE TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYER CRUISING NEAR PORT ARTHUR.

Life on a torpedo boat destroyer in time of peace when the weather is warm is unpleasant and dangerous enough, but in a winter campaign the situation is well nigh intolerable. The Japanese who are watching Port Arthur from torpedo boats and torpedo boat destroyers are suffering great hardships. Off the Russian port the sea is full of ice, and blizzards are common.

cerning the fundamentals of the situation arise in the mind. Whatever differences may exist in various nations the European farmer is always in hereditary peasant, generally ignorant and reactionary, and depending upon a ruling class to direct him in his work and to provide him

London, Paris, New York, San Francisco and Yokohama differ but little in essentials. They are all man-made all from the same pattern. But the farmer is more nearly a product of nature and reflects all the countless variations of nature. When we speak of the American

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